

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 05889 061149Z
ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 5889

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: CSCE, SP
SUBJECT: CSCE: SPANISH INTEREST IN HOSTING POST-BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP
MEETING

REF: (A) STATE 181548, (B) STATE 182408, (C) BELGRADE 5280

1. EMBOFF TOOK THE OCCASION OF MAKING THBWUMESENTTYION
ON THE CSCE COMMISSION REPORT (REF B) TO DISCUSS THE
POSSIBLE MADRID CANDIDACY WITH JAVIER RUPEREZ, THE FOREIGN
MINISTER'S CHIEF OF CABINET AND A KEY MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON
CSCE (HE PARTICIPATED IN HELSINKI AND SPENT TWO WEEKS IN
BELGRADE AT THE END OF THE MEETING).

2. RUPEREZ SAID THE POSSIBLE CANDIDACY WAS HIS IDEA, NOTING
THAT THEY WERE SIMPLY CONSIDERING IT AND EMPHASIZING THAT
HOSTING A CSCE MEETING WAS NOT A KEY PART OF SPANISH FOREIGN
POLICY. SPANISH POLICY, HE SAID, COULD NOT BE MADE HOSTAGE
TO HOSTING SUCH A MEETING, AND IF SOME DEVELOPMENT IN THE
MEANTIME--SUCH AS SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO--WERE TO BAR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 05889 061149Z

MADRID AS THE SITE, THEN MADRID WOULD NOT BE THE SITE
AND THAT WAS THAT.

3. DISCOUNTING THE IDEA THAT HOSTING THE MEETING WOULD
MAKE SPAIN NEUTRAL, RUPEREZ ARGUED RATHER THAT FOR THE
MEETING TO BE HELD IN SPAIN WOULD MEAN THAT IT WAS NOT
BEING HELD IN A NEUTRAL COUNTRY. THERE COULD BE NO

NOTION, HE ADDED, THAT THE MEETINGS WOULD ALWAYS HAVE TO BE HELD IN NEUTRAL COUNTRIES, SOONER OR LATER, OR WOULD BE HELD ON ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER.

4. EMBOFF ASKED RUPEREZ WHAT THE EFFECT ON SPANISH POLICY MIGHT BE IF, FOR EXAMPLE, THE "NATIONAL DEBATE" ON SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO (RECENTLY CALLED FOR BY THE GOVT) HAD NOT BEEN COMPLETED AT THE TIME OF THE PUTATIVE MADRID MEETING. RUPEREZ ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PRO-NEUTRALISM FORCES WOULD TRY TO USE THE OCCASION TO THEIR ADVANTAGE, BUT HE SAID THE GOVT POSITION (I.E. A PRO-NATO DISPOSITION) WAS FIRM. HE CHARACTERIZED THE PRO-NEUTRALISM FORCES AS UNREALISTIC, "IDEALISTIC."

5. WHILE RUPEREZ (AND PAN DE SORALUCE--SEE MADRID 2625) SEEM CLEARLY TO BE THE FATHERS OF THE IDEA, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE SOUNDING IN WASHINGTON (FOR EXAMPLE) COULD HAVE BEEN MADE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS WITHOUT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S APPROVAL. THE REFERENCES IN THE PRESS HERE TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT MADRID WOULD HOST THE NEXT MEETING HAVE DRAWN NO CRITICISM, NO DENIAL, AND NO HALT TO THE SOUNDINGS UNDER WAY. FURTHERMORE, HOSTING SUCH A MEETING WOULD APPEAR TO JIBE WELL WITH SPANISH ASPIRATIONS TO USE THE COUNTRY'S NEW DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS TO CARVE OUT A GREATER INTERNATIONAL ROLE.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MADRID 05889 061149Z

6. WE RECOGNIZE THE POSSIBILITY THAT A DECISION--OR A GOS EFFORT TO OBTAIN A DECISION--TO HOLD THE NEXT MEETING IN MADRID COULD RESULT IN EXTERNAL AND, FOR THAT MATTER, INTERNAL PRESSURES ON THE GOS TOWARD A MORE BALANCED INTERNATIONAL POSTURE. RUPEREZ' BRIEF ASSURANCE THAT THE GOS HAS ITS PRIORITIES IN ORDER DOES NOT MEAN IT COULD NOT FIND ITSELF HARD PRESSED TO DEAL WITH SUCH PRESSURES WERE THEY TO ARISE. WE ARE NOT SURE JUST WHAT FORM ANY EXTERNAL PRESSURES WOULD TAKE, OR JUST WHAT KIND OF SACRIFICE THE SOVIETS COULD TRY TO EXACT FROM THE GOS IN EXCHANGE FOR AGREEING TO THE MADRID SITE. ONE LIKELY SOVIET OBJECTIVE, OF COURSE, WOULD BE TO GET THE SPANISH TO HOLD OFF, AT LEAST, ON A MOVE TOWARD NATO MEMBERSHIP.

7. CONNECTED TO THIS IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT INTENSIFIED SPANISH INVOLVEMENT IN CSCE AS A NON-MEMBER OF ANY BLOC COULD FOSTER A SELF-IMAGE OF THE GREAT CONCILIATOR, A WESTERN-ORIENTED BUT NON-NATO COUNTRY ALMOST UNIQUELY ABLE TO BRING THE TWO OPPOSING BLOCs TO AGREEMENT. SUCH NOTIONS ARE ALREADY USED HERE BY THOSE OPPOSED TO SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO, WHO ARGUE THAT SPAIN'S INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE WOULD BE GREATER THIS WAY THAN AS SIMPLY ANOTHER NATO

MEMBER.

8. AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST CONSIDER WHAT COSTS WE MIGHT INCUR IF WE WERE TO APPEAR TO BE TRYING TO THWART A LEGITIMATE NATIONAL ASPIRATION. WE ARE, IN SUM, WORRIED BY THE POSSIBLE CANDIDACY BUT RELUCTANT TO OPPOSE IT. CONSIDERING THE GROUND THE CANDIDACY HAS ALREADY GAINED IN BELGRADE (REF C), AND IF THE DEPT AGREES WITH USDEL CSCE THAT MADRID IS A SATISFACTORY SITE, WE SUGGEST THAT AS OUR REACTION TO THE SPANISH SOUNDING WE COUPLE A FRANK EXPOSITION OF OUR CONCERNS WITH ASSURANCES THAT IF THEY RESOLVE TO GO AHEAD, WE WILL SUPPORT THEM. STABLER

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